# PEACE NEW

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 692

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Fields, 3 p. Meeting will

Hill, N.W.

September 30, 1949

THREEPENCE

### Garry Davis in Belgium—minus passport Will he get into India?



Garry Davis arriving at a Belgian airfield recently without a passport or identity papers.

At first Belgian officials insisted that he return at once to France, out Garry Davis wanted to address a meeting of World Citizens in a nearby town.

"Yes I know all about you," said a friendly airport official. "If was me, I would say: 'O.K.' Let Garry Davis come in.'"

For nearly two hours telephone bells rang while Garry Davis in a waiting room, eating sandwiches and signing autographs for soldiers, then in rushed an official:

"You can stay in Belgium today and tomorrow if you wish." It was a step forward to an inevitable goal. Two sovereign nations gave official recognition to the status "world citizen" and allowed Garry Davis to pass freely over their borders.

Garry Davis has accepted an invitation to attend the World Pacifist Congress in India.

Whether he is able to attend or not will depend on whether he is released from prison and also whether the British and Indian Governments recognise his status as a world citizen and consent to his travelling to India without a passport.

# DESTROY THE ATOM BOMBS NOW

# A message from the Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, Vera Brittain

NO world wars designed to "end war" have precipitated the threat of a third more L terrible than both.

The announcement that Russia has discovered the lethal use of atomic energy may easily be followed by a world-wide increase in fear-the kind of fear which inevitably arises when men put their trust in man-made weapons which the antagonists of the moment can always discover and "improve."

There is only one way of preventing a third world war. It is to eliminate this fear and the weapons which create it by a great act of constructive statesmanship.

The Peace Pledge Union, whose members have renounced all war, believes that/this is the moment when the leaders of Britain and the United States of America should at least declare that they will destroy their stocks of atomic bombs and the formulas that produced them within a given period if the USSR will do the same, and submit to inspection by a neutral commission of statesmen and scientists from the smaller powers who will guarantee that this has been done.

Not an armaments race in lethal weapons, but a supreme example of spiritual courage, can now alone save humanity from certain doom.



VERA BRITTAIN

# Garry Davis joins forces with French COs

### "MY PLACE IS IN PRISON" — GETS THERE AT SIXTH ATTEMPT

ARRY DAVIS, who was permitted to remain in France as guest of the Government after having declared himself a world citizen, is now in a Paris prison.

Davis wrote to the French President, M. Auriol, saying that he could no longer accept the position of guest while another Pacifist was in prison for holding similar opinions.

He therefore demanded that Jean-Bernard Moreau be released or that he himself be imprisoned with Moreau.

Receiving no reply he accordingly camped out on the steps of the Prison du there out on the steps of the compelled to take him in.

Bernard Salmon, the well-known French war resister, writes:

The fight for recognition of COs is on.

Garry Davis, who has recently declared imself a pacifist and conscientious objector

The situation in France is developing: inprisoned COs, as in Italy, are compelling liversal respect by their exemplary

When on Sept 9, Jean-Bernard Moreau re-arrested on the irrational and 306 French and foreign papers reported the

On Sept 21, Garry Davis decided on direct action in support of Moreau.

Carrying his camping outfit and his book the life of Tolstoy he presented himself before the prison du Cherche-Midi where Moreau is confined.

### Sixth time lucky

He demanded to be imprisoned. This was refused. He camped before the prison door. Then the police intervened. Five times he was arrested and then released and five times he set up his camp; on the sixth time, by order of the Minister, he was arrested for "vagabondage."

The Press and the radio were full of Garry Davis and Jean-Bernard Moreau and the question of conscientious objection. The Franc-Tireur, one of the morning approach the campaign the morning papers, opened the campaign at 2 p.m.

Following the re-imprisonment of the for conscientious objectors. Combat contents CO, Jean-Bernard Moreau, Garry tinued this propaganda in our favour and opened a controversy among its readers. That lively and satirical weekly, Canard Enchaine, demanded the liberation of COs. That review de luxe, Paris Match, gave

three pages to Moreau.

Deputy l' Abbé Pierre, has opened a national petition for COs which he will present to the Government and Parliament.

The last act of the struggle has begun. Millions of French people are aroused. We have launched a revolutionary move-ment in the manner of Gandhi who won for us proof of the efficacy of non-violent resis-

"All peace-lovers can join us in this ac-on," writes l'Abbé Pierre, "demanding that France shall recognise the status of COs."

I ask war-resisters all over the world to write l'Abbé Pierre supporting our demand. All such letters will be forwarded to the Government. Here is his address:— Monsieur l'Abbé Pierre,

Dèputé, Assemblée Nationale, Palais-Bourbon, Paris.

(The full story of Jean-Bernard Moreau and other war resisters appears on page 3.)

#### INTERNATIONAL PEACE DAY

THE Communist-sponsored British Peace Committee is organising a procession in London on Sunday Oct. 2, which is being observed by Communist peace organisa-tions throughout the world as International Peace Day.

The procession will leave Hyde Park at 3.30 p.m. with a wreath which will be taken to the Cenotaph. Prior to this an open-air meeting will be held in the Park, commencing at 2.30 p.m.

Volunteers who will sell Peace News and distribute leaflets are asked to meet at the main park gates facing the Marble Arch

# Union on page two. How atom race began

See also "Further outlook-im-

proved?" by Stuart Morris, General

Secretary of the Peace Pledge

July 16, 1945 The first explosion at Los Alamos. July 7, 1945

Potsdam Conference.

August 6, 1945 Hiroshima.

An announcement of his desire for in-ternational control, prepared by President Truman in advance, was released while he was returning from Potsdam.

August 9, 1945

President Truman expresses unwillingness to divulge secret of atomic bomb until means have been found to control it.

November 15, 1945

USA, UK and Canada propose a UNO Commission. "We are prepared to share with the others of the United Nations detailed information concerning the practical industrial application just as soon as effective, enforceable safeguards against its use for destructive purposes can be devised."

December 27, 1945

Council of Foreign Ministers agreed to recommend the establishment of UNO Commission.

January, 1946

Atomic Energy Commission constituted. March 16, 1946

Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy by the Board of Consultants of the Atomic Energy Committee of the U.S. State Department (Lilienthal Report):

"The significant fact is that at all times during the transitional period such facilities (stock-piles of bombs and plants to produce fissile material) will continue to be located within the United States. Thus should there be a break-down in the plan during the transition, we shall be in a favourable position with regard to atomic weapons."

June 14, 1946

Baruch proposals:
"The atomic authority should exercise complete managerial control of the production of fissionable materials. This means that it should control and operate all plants producing fissionable materials in dangerous quantities and must own and control the products of these plants."

THE HISTORY OF ATOM BOMB NEGOTIATIONS "There must be no veto to protect those who violate their solemn agreements not to develop or use atomic energy for destructive purposes."

July 24, 1946

Soviet rejection of American proposals. Proposed Atomic Development Authority "would be independent of the Security Council and would have almost full autonomy: this could not be reconciled with the Charter of UNO."

"ADA infringes the sovereignty of member States."

Gromyko emphasised the importance of the veto and the necessity for beginning with a Convention prohibiting the use of Atomic Energy for war purposes. October 28, 1946

Statement by Stalin to Hugh Baillie. "A strong international control is needed."

December 30, 1946

Gromyko repeated defence of veto, even against violators of the Convention and renewed his demand for starting with a Convention outlawing the atom bomb, but admitted necessity for organs of control: "It is indisputable that control organs and organs of inspection should carry ou their control and inspection functions acting on the basis of their own rules, which should provide for the adoption of decisions by a majority in appropriate cases.'

January, 1947

First report of AEC accepted by ten votes with Russia and Poland abstaining. February 14, 1947

Gromyko presses for immediate out-lawing convention and defends veto. March 5, 1947

Gromyko attacked the Report in Security Council. He described the proposals for management as "thoroughly vicious and unacceptable."

The control organ would be "an international syndicate or trust." The United States was seeking "to dictate to other member States of the United Nations."

"The Soviet Union is aware that there will be a majority in the control organs which may take one-sided decisions, a

(Continued on page six)

PEACE NEWS

#### RUSSIA'S ATOM BOMB

### By Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS

Although Dr. Lonsdale is the Execcutive Vice-President of the Atomic Scientists Association of Great Britain, she expresses only her personal point of view in the following article.

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Telephone: Stamford Hill 2262-3-4

# Further outlook — improved?

#### By STUART D. MORRIS

General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union

PACIFISM has at least this report on the whole field of East-West relife based on moral principles it remains constant and does not have to near future. change itself to fit changing circumstances.

The fundamentally simple renunciation of war, being independent of any considerations such as the nature or reasons of any particular war, means that the pacifist any fresh factor emerges in the international situation.

Thus in 1939 we did not have to stop to not difficult to understand. ask what our attitude was: "This," we said, is the war we have already renounced."

The Labour Party may turn from its traditional refusal of conscription because it allows changing circumstances to change its attitude. Leaders of the Church may speak with uncertain voice about war because they think in terms of consequences. Not so the pacifists. We do not have to reconsider our position in the light of the Russia's only advantage was that, within fact that the British, American and Cana-Governments now realise that Russia has mastered the full secret of how to produce A-bombs.

To that extent we should not be unduly disturbed by the new factor. It may devalue the American bomb; it can only enhance the pacifist message.

#### A NEW OPPORTUNITY

additional information affects the situation in which we have to make our pacifist witness, I think it improves rather than worsens the outlook-and for three reasons. out-voted.

Firstly, there is less danger now of a preventative war. A year ago we were perhaps as near to war as it is possible to be, for there were those who would have liked to use the Berlin blockade as an excuse for starting a "war of defensive aggression" is less chance of such action now.

Secondly, a major reason for the fear and suspicion which embitters international relations has been the position of disadvantage in which Russia found herself from the refusal of her former allies to share atomic secrets. The sense of inferiority arising Professor Minnaert, President of the from this disadvantage no longer exists, Dutch Association of Scientific Workers, and one result may well be a psychological recently stated: "Some American and change in Russia's attitude.

negotiation. A reasonable compromise is overwhelming advantage; and the certainty that her cities have become possible targets for Russian atom bombs may well increase America's hesitation about plunging the world into atomic warfare.

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Pacifists would therefore urge that so far from this being the moment to intensify the atomic armaments race, it is a new opportunity for taking steps to end that race once for all.

#### GETTING AT THE TRUTH

It is significant that the news about the possible." bomb was followed by fresh Russian proposals concerning atomic control. It is unfortunate that they have aroused the alltoo-familiar reaction in Britain and America which casts doubt on Russian sincerity. This is part of the general propaganda which tries to throw upon Russia full responsibility for the failure to secure satisfactory international inspection and

The East-West Commission (appointed by the National Peace Council to study and

#### I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This piedge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace-Piedge Union. Send YOUR piedge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WCI

advantage: that being a way of lations) has prepared a series of notes on the negotiations for atomic energy control which it is hoped will be available in the

Honest consideration of available information leaves no doubt that it is both unfair and untrue to attribute failure to Russia alone. The repeated assertion that Russia has refused to accept international inspection and control is demonstrably knows in advance what his answer is when false. Russia has agreed in principle to What she has not yet done is satisfy American requirements, and the reason is

#### AMERICA'S FEAR OF EQUALITY

America is really asking for 100 per cent. security and is unwilling to sacrifice the advantage she possessed in her atomic bomb stockpile until she was sure no other government was piling up a similar

Compared with America's advantage the wide spaces beyond the Urals the location of her factories was unknown. International inspection for her means the pinpointing of her factories for American bombers and the possible loss of any secrecy about manufacturing processes.

Moreover, as regards future control of uranium, one can easily understand the Russian fear that the very competition in industrial efficiency would prevent her from Indeed, if we try to estimate how the obtaining a fair share of available supplies, if they were controlled by a Commission similar to those already existing under United Nations where Russia is always

#### WHAT RUSSIA DID OFFER

It is perhaps neither irrelevant to recall the latest Russian suggestion nor unfair to make one quotation. The Russians re-cently offered to admit international inbefore Russia had the atom bomb. In all spection of all factories scheduled by them our criticism of America let it be remem- as engaged on atomic enterprises if bered that wiser counsels prevailed. There America and Britain would do the same, also to recognise the right of any of the three Powers to apply to the Security Council for a search warrant in connection with any unscheduled factory suspected of being similarly employed—without the right of veto running in such applications.

Dutch Association of Scientific Workers, recently stated: "Some American and British newspapers are complaining about stockpiling the poisonous radio-active fission The third reason concerns the process of the complete defeat of all negotiations be- products, which could be used to destroy consider any deviation from at least more likely if neither party has an their own plan to be incomprehensible and mischievious. But if we study the Lilienthal-Acheson Report, the Chicago Amendment, the Baruch Plan and the successive Russian declarations, we find that the official Baruch Plan is in several respects poorer than the Lilienthal Report or the Chicago Draft: and we notice that the Russians have made important concessions since their first declarations. . . . Generally speaking we believe that we can understand fairly well the motives which are at the bottom of the rival proposals. We think they have sufficient in common to make an agreement

#### WHERE BRITAIN SHOULD LEAD!

But apart from what may be done in the wider sphere of international conferences, we as British citizens should be urging our own Government to take a lead.

If instead of allowing America to base atom bombers in this country and asking for the loan of atom bombs until we can produce our own, we would make an immediate declaration that we do not intend to use our source of atomic energy for any but constructive purposes, and that our plants were open to inspection by the accredited representatives of any government, what a difference would immediately be made in the whole international atmosphere!

This is what pacifists have urged for months past, and the new factor does not change our demand, it only gives it the greater insistency. When multilateral agreement fails, unilateral action becomes

IT often happens that a new have supplied the greatest possible provo-discovery in science is made independently and almost simulta- I doubt very much also whether the leaders of the West believe that the USSR neously in several parts of the world. will deliberately embark on a war of agres This is because no discovery is ever quite new; there has always been a would mean ruin for their own country as groundwork of theoretical and ex- well as others. perimental knowledge behind it.

Moreover, at least until 1939, the results of fundamental scientific research had the two great Powers will be able to throw always been freely published in all counsidiary to the advancement of knowledge.

This tradition of free publication of fundamental knowledge was broken during the war years. Only those results were published which were unlikely to be of immediate value to the other side. Even the researches on penicillin were kept secret, to the dismay and disgust of many scientists who felt that healing processes should not be regarded as munitions of war.

Moreover, in the case of atomic science, the problem of "the next war" had already arisen; would the publication of knowledge obtained during the war make it easier for a potential enemy to develop his stockpile of weapons or improve his industrial posi-The water of the fount of knowledge had been poisoned.

In such circumstances it says much for the strength of the liberal element in the USA that the official Smyth Report, published in 1945. deliberately gave a tremendous amount of fundamental information which may well have saved Russia some two years of groping and a colossal expenditure of money.

Even its historical account of the development of this knowledge up to the end of 1939 was a deliberate gift. The Smyth Report pointed out that the technological gap be-tween producing a controlled "chain reac-tion" and using it as a large-scale power source or as an explosive is comparable to the gap between the discovery of fire and the maufacture of the steam locomotive.

#### The growth of suspicion

As soon as it became clear, however, that an atomic bomb was practicable and would soon be produced, great anxiety was felt in the USA as to whether German scientists might not also be well on the way to the same end. These fears had a good founda-

The Russian interest in the practical applications of nuclear fission is almost certainly mainly post-war. They are, necessarily, deeply concerned to exploit any new source of industrial power. There are no vested interests in other power sources to be considered, as there may well be in USA. They have within their own borders and those of satellite countries all the minerals required. USA and Britain must still import largely from Belgium and Canada.

But the Russian leaders must also have wanted desperately to obtain the atom bomb. They would regard it as a superb bargaining weapon. The USA has a stockpile of atomic bombs—no one knows how large. When they have enough to destroy the whole world, or every main centre of products, which could be used to destroy rural as well as urban districts; or to contaminate crops, animals and fodder, so that those human beings who are not blasted out of existence must starve or die from radiation sickness.

Perhaps they also have those biological weapons of which hints have been given, and against which no methods of international control would seem to be effec-

The Russians have now shown, however, that their scientists are as efficient and as obedient as those of any other nation (we rather suspect that one well-known Russian physicist has refused to take part in this work; it is rather curious that Professor Kapitza, the obvious man for the job, should, after a period of home arrest, working on such innocuous things as wind tunnels—but that is by the way). As already pointed out, the contents of the Smyth Report gave them a good start.

The Russian bomb may not yet be as efficient as the American article. That hardly matters. If they can produce one atomic bomb in four years from the order to begin, they will soon, if they wish, be producing them on the belt system. They will undoubtedly have scientists also capable of making biological poisons and will sooner or later be in the position of being able to destroy the whole world, and of having to stop production at that saturation point.

So what?

Will this mad race continue, and if so where will it end? No one in the West really believes that America will embark on

a preventative war, however great the pressure from irresponsible philosophers or vested capitalist interests. Even the USSR leaders can hardly believe it, for in that case, the detonation of their bomb would

sion, even when in a position to do so. The Russians know very well that such a course

#### Can they change their habits?

But there is the danger that neither of off their habitual ways of thought and tries. Scientists from all parts of the world would visit and talk freely to one another; personal and national prestige were subsidiary to the advancement of knowledge. are no defence, just to feel and make their people feel that they are doing something and to suppress even more rigorously ex pressions of ideas that appear to be subversive to national unity. In these circumstances the security for which ordinary people long is impossible.

The miracle that might save the world today would have to be a complete change of heart; it would involve faith instead of suspicion, friendship instead of rivalry, co-operation instead of conflict.

The Baruch plan for the international control of atomic energy was a step forward in diplomatic relations, yet it failed: it failed because it tried to eliminate suspicion without substituting anything posi-tive in its place. It put security first, human need second. This may need elabora-

It has already been pointed out that Russia is intensely interested, more than the USA ar even Britain, in the development of new sources of power.

As a source of heat, which when controlled can be transferred into electrical or steam power, atomic fuel is about three million times as efficient as coal, but there are technical difficulties to be solved which still prevent the immediate use of atomic fuel for power production at an economic rate and on a practical scale. These diffi-culties may take 10, 20, or even 50 years to overcome. The first four operations necessary for power production from atomic fuel (that is, from uranium or thorium) would

1. The mining of the raw material (the ore);

The refining of the raw material: The extraction of the metal;

4. The preparation of the fissile material from the metal (this involves either the separation of the fissionable uranium isotope, U235; or the "breeding" of the other two fissionable materials, plutonium from ordinary uranium. or uranium 233 thorium)

#### The main problem of control

The essential difficulty, the difficulty that fouls all attempts at control or prohibition of atomic weapons, is that the material obtained in process (4) is the very material out of which atomic bombs are made; while even the beneficial use of this same material for power production gives, as an inevitable by-product, the radio-active and terribly poisonous "fission products"; and these would themselves be a dangerous weapon, less spectacular but more insidious than atomic bombs, once a way of delivering them had been devised.

Thus, a nation which had atomic power weapons could be prepared, should the powers-that-be decide to do so. Schemes of "denaturation" such as outlined in the Acheson-Lilienthal Report of 1946 might

(Continued on page six)

#### CLOSING OUR GAP

NEVER was the publication of Peace News more worth while than in these days when the people of the world are frightened by the vast stock of armaments which they have piled up.

We do ask every reader to do something next week to make Peace News more widely known, either by passing on their old copy to a potential reader or ordering an extra copy through a newsagent.

By placing a regular order with a newsagent readers will help us to win the goodwill of "the trade."

Peace News is not a "popular" paper. If you have any difficulty in getting an order with your newsagent fulfilled, please write to the PN Circulation Department, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4, giving the name of your newsagent AND HIS WHOLESALER.

And by the way, we are £166 down on the Forward Fund compared with last year. But we were £270 down in June so we are closing OUR gap. Once again, thank you for the generous response shown below. THE EDITOR

Contributions since Sept. 16: £29 1s. 7d.

Total for 1949: £407 5s. 0d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News, 3 Blackstock

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# WITH THE YHA WORK PARTIES

# Cologne's first guess: criminals

IN GERMANY

By GREGORY WELCH

The author of this article returned to England last year from Australia with his wife and daughter.

In World War I he joined the Friends' Ambulance Unit and took charge of the Transport Department at Dunkerque. On the introduction of conscription in 1916 he came back to face his conscientious objector's tribunal and then accepted service with the Friends' War Victims Relief Committee in Russia.

He worked for 12 months amongst the refugees in the Samara area and later, ut the request of the American Near East Relief Committee took part in the organisation of relief in the Caucasus. After the conclusion of hostilities he made his way across Siberia, visiting refugee settlements in these distant areas. Later he went to work in Poland, helping to rebuild the shattered homes of the same refugees to whom he had devoted his services during their exile in Russia.

"THE CRIMINALS"

German, Danish, English and Australian Youth Hostelers at Eschershausen

brunn in Bavaria. As one looked across the valley there was the same over-rulng sense of harmony and fitness.

This untidy and none too well kept village of large and small half-timbered

farm houses, the school, the pub and a couple of little shops, fitted into the surrounding serenity of the pine clad hills. For generations the same things have happened: the seasons, the husbandry, the natural increase, the feasts and family affairs all woven together by work affairs, all woven together by work. Princes, emperors or dictators might come and go, but the work went on; man's means of harmonising himself with his environment.

Into this scene of labour and life at Weissenbrunn an English Youth Hostel Association Work Party arrived to help in the construction of a Youth Hostel on the outskirts of the village.

First the children came to see who these strangers were and what they were doing. The next day, after some tiles had been put on the roof and concrete drains laid, older people came too and with them the village burgomaster. That was the beginning of very close friendship in this village where our work party of twelve English and nine

Germans were made to feel so welcome. Soon it was realised that we had come to work—to work in their village—as a token of friendship and goodwill.

Only workers wanted

This question of work is a very trying one at present in the western zones, but with many of their hostels damaged during the war and most of their money lost in the currency reform the German YHA welcomed work parties. Whether in the south of Germany or in the north, no questions were raised when our Work Parties were seen stripped to the waist, mixing cement, co-operating with German youth and craftsmen in reconstruction.

At Eschershausen, near Hannover, in the midst of one of the richest farming districts with the great farm houses and their patriarchal and almost self-supporting way of life, a splendid group of English, Irish, Danish, Australians and Germans toiled together. Here above all places, problems could have arisen. Nearly a thousand refugees a day are still pouring into Hannover from the eastern zone, swelling the almost insoluble question of their distribution. Already one person in four in the western zones is a refugee or displaced person.

But working together, eating our bread,

Principles v blind obedience

Potatoes and bowls of soup together, singing and playing together, the students, the builders' labourers and the foremen did not talk about the unpleasant aspects of the resurgence of German power and prestige and trade restrictions. We discussed our comparative costs of living, our personal interests and the toleration of one People of another, and more topically important, the toleration of one party of another and the importance of following a Principle rather than the blind obedience to authority—views which are still none too popular in Germany. Our line of approach to all these things was our common work. Further north still, towards Hamburg, on the Luneburg plain, home of many a myth and song, the villagers of Hosseringen, knowing the British only as the occupation authorities, said, "Are we going to put up with that," when they heard that our Work Party had come to stay at the Youth

A few days later when they saw us noundering knee deep in mud in a marsh we were draining for a swimming pool, there was a complete revolution of feeling and we were invited to the village dance.

Hard workers themselves, often facing 30 degrees of frost, and with their country under snow for three or four months, they understood, but besides that—think people coming from another country not only to do heavy work, but at their own expense, just as a token of friendship.. That was something quite new.

Hard task in Cologne

But it was in Cologne that we were up against the hard naked facts of devastation, homelessness, poverty and competition.

IT is in the crude villages in Russia, in the endless harvest scenes in Australia, with the whirring combines, and again here in Weissen-bines, and again here in Weissen-bines and transfer again to the state of the state

On the edge of this shattered city, with its sea of rubble and ghost like shells, stands a heavy concrete bunkerhaus scheduled for demolition. With the consent of the occupying powers it is being converted into a Hostel. Its seven feet thick walls and roof any being powered feet deeper and labourers employed by drilled and exploded away. In two weeks,

women on this heavy work, stopped to look and enquire. Expressing their commendations or surprise, they passed on to tell their friends about the strange "Englanders navvying for friendship.

But the strangest enquiry came from the are being pierced for doors and windows. the demolition contractors on the job. Our job was to clear a track to give lorries "What," they said, soon after we had Our job was to clear a track to give lorries "What," they said, soon after we had access to the concrete rubble that had been commenced work "had these people done in their own country to be sent here to do hard labour?" Before we left these felwith picks, shovels and barrows we moved over 200 tons of earth, stones and rubble.

Here we were in the public eye. The

Here we were in the public eye. The

French, Swedish, Danish, Swiss, American and British work parties have been spread over the western zones of Germany this summer. What is their purpose? What have they achieved? On the common basis of work, work as a gift of friendship, as a means of learning about other possible. other people's problems, practising rather than talking about toleration, good will and brotherhood, these Work Parties have crossed frontiers and penetrated the walled cities of Germany and the conservative country villages.

Commonplace though it may sound, the Commonplace though it may sound, the Burgomaster of Nuremburg, whilst entertaining some of our Work Parties to lunch, looked around and said, "You know, you are people just like ourselves." If that were being said all over Europe we should be well on the way to "One World."

## The Peace Movement in Italy

#### COs AND WAR RESISTERS

#### By Edmundo Marcucci

Secretary of the Liason Committee of Italian Peace Activities, who this week concludes his survey of the Italian Peace Movement.

SSOCIAZIONE ITALIANA PER LA RESISTENZE ALLA GUERRA A (Italian Association for War Resistance) is led by Prof. Aldo Capitini of Perugia. It is a section of the movement of religious revival called Movimento di Religione started by Aldo

Capitini and Ferdinando Tartaglia in 1947. Since the end of the Fascist regime Professor Capitini has been the acknowledged leader of the non-violent and anti-war movement. His philosophical, political and peace views are exposed in his books "Elementi di un'esperienza religiosa" ("Principles of a religious experience," 1937, new edition 1947), "Il Problema religioso attuale" ("The religious problem of today," 1948), "Italia non violenta" (Non-violent Italy, 1949), and others

This religious and peace movement has held several Congresses in many towns of Italy, grouping a large number of men and women, discussing vital problems and taking practical initiatives.

From one of these meetings a Liaison Committee of the Italian Peace Activities ensued, with a secretariat formed by Aldo Rescigno (Milano), Elia Marcelli, who founded in 1947 an Italian Pacifist League (Roma) and myself. This movement and these meetings have been one of the most notable expressions of the spiritual upheaval that has tossed and stirred the Italian soul after the fascist mortification and the horrors of war.

After the war, when the pacifist groups again got into touch with foreign movements, representa-tives of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (American, English and French branches) visited Italy, and spoke at various meetings.

André Trocmé spoke of his international and coeducational school, the "Collège Cévenol" at Le Chambon-sur-Loire, and of conscientious objection. Mrs. Trocmé travelled tirelessly in Italy, from north to south, contacting all Italian movements persons working for peace. She gave a brilliant report ("Voyage en Italie," published in the "Cahiers de le Reconciliation," Paris, March-April, 1947). Some Italians visited the Collège Cévenol, being present at its summer meetings for the study of peace teaching.

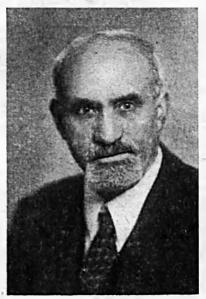
As readers of Peace News will know through Professor Pioli's article ("War Resistance in Italy," Sept 1948), a number of young people in Milan formally bound themselves in 1947 to the WRI's declaration. "We nime a crime are the setting up of the N. Italian "War is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war, and to strive for the removal of all causes of war.'

The leaders of the Italian War Resisters are the well-known old Italian and religious scholar, Professor Giovanni Pioli, and Mr. Aldo Rescigno.

Professor Pioli's peace work in the past has been conspicuous and his opposition to Fascism strong and courageous. By his correspondence with foreign peace movements, by his articles and lectures, Pro-fessor Pioli has fulfilled a noble task. He was a pioneer in our land: we can name him the doyen of Italian pacifism.

The young student Aldo Rescigno is one of the most distinguished Italian War Resisters.

**PACIFIST** 



**PIOLI** 

"War is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined never to support any kind of war, and to strive for the removal of all causes of war.

After the setting up of the N. Italian Fascist Republic in Oct, 1943, Aldo Res-cigno was again called up and later sentenced to imprisonment in absentia. Later he was sentenced to death, but managed to escape across the frontier into Switzerland. He returned to Milan in July 1945.

Unfortunately it was not possible to insert into the new Constitution of the Italian Republic a law in favour of conscientious objection. Notwithstanding that, the propaganda for conscientious objection goes on in Italy. Harold Bing's pamphlet "The War Resisters' International, an Appeal to Young Italy," has been widely distributed in its Italian translation.

It is hard ground that has to be tilled. Twenty years of Fascism has almost destroyed what little anti-military tradition existed in religion and politics. Before esisters.

World War I there were a number of May Italian peace action be a real When he was called up for the army in people who did not support compulsory tribution to world union and peace.

**MILITARIST** 



MUSSOLINI

"Fascism . . . rejects pacifism ... Only war stretches out to the utmost degree all human energies and impresses a scal of nobility to the nations that possess the virtue of facing it."

military service, influenced especially by Tolstoy's teaching which was then very popular in Italy.

The Federazione Anarchica Italiana (Italian Anarchist Federation) perseveres in its vigorous anti-militarist and anti-war propaganda, according to its anti-state principles and methods. In 1947, the Italian Anarchists published an ably drawn up "Manifesto": "Contro il Militarismo e Contro la Guerra" ("Against Militarism and War").

All these ideological and practical efforts on behalf of a direct resistance to war, of an intransigent, intimate, religious paci-fism requiring the pledge to renounce war and war preparations are marking an epoch in Italy's history and a moral conquest of its painful evolution.

As to the Christian Churches of Italy, I would seize this opportunity to point out the warm interest of the Protestant Churches in peace, non-violence and CO problems and facts.

Catholic attitude changing

The Roman Catholic Church's official attitude towards absolute resistance to war is less open and clear. She has never condemned compulsory service, nor pronounced authoritatively on conscientious objection. Her official doctrine is still that of the "just war." However, much the Popes However, much the Popes may have done for international peace through diplomacy, speeches, appeals, addresses, and letter, they have never forbidden the blessing of armies and weapons.

But even in the Catholic war doctrine, a change is to be marked. There are some ecclisiastical authors seeking to revise this old doctrine of the "just war," no longer applicable to modern war with its many complications and widespread destruction. (But I should like to add that a just war never occurred!).

I instance only two distinguished ecclesiastical authors: Luigi Sturzo (see the pamphlet "Catholics Facing War" published by the WRI many years ago) and Ottavieni's "Institutions Juris Publici Ecclesiastici" (Institution of Cannon Publici Law) lic Law).

Other anti-war and anti-military-service religious sects have some followers in Italy: Adventists (with several centres), Jehovah's Witnesses (Rome, Milan), Bahais, Quakers, Theosophists, Buddhists and Tol-

stoyans. May Italian peace action be a real con-

## HE MUST SLEEP BEHIND BARS

AS has been reported, Pietro Pinna, the first war resister to be tried in Italy in recent years, was sentenced to ten month's imprisonment, with the concession that the sentence was "Conditionally suspended," further the sentence was not to appear in criminal records.

The "conditional" sentence means that although released from prison, Pietro Pinna must return there to sleep each

After the verdict, Dr. Segre, who was defending Pinna, presented an appeal to the Supreme Military Court in Rome asking for complete release. So also has the Public Prosecutor, but he considers the sentence far too lenient.

#### Unsolved problem

The important and as yet unsolved problem is to negotiate with the War Minister to grant "provisional leave of absence" so that Pietro can return to his family. On the other hand, if the Public Prosecutor's appeal is accepted by the Supreme Military Court, Pietro may be sent back to the barracks for military service. In this event he has stated his determination to repeat his conscientious refusal to serve, realising full well that this will mean a re-arrest, a new accusation and another trial.

WRI Headquarters is considering the most appropriate action to take, which will probably be an approach to the Italian Government, not only for the satisfactory solution of the Pinna case, but also the provision for the recognition of conscientious objection in the military service legislation Italy. In this connection WRI Sections throughout the world will be invited to cooperate and a further report on this matter will be made shortly.

It is felt that now is the opportune moment, for the case of Pietro Pinna not only aroused interest in the Press throughout the whole of Italy, but articles on his stand were also published in several of the big "dailies" in France; The Manchester Guardian in Great Britain also carried a good report and brief statements of the facts of this case were also published in a number of other British "dailies.'

Young Pietro Pinna could scarcely have estimated the consequence of his refusal to undertake military service when he made that decision alone some months ago, but it has lead to big developments in Italy for he question has been raised in the Italian Parliament by four Social Democrat MPs.

The military Court has now actually invited one of the interested Italian deputies, Mr. Umberto Calosso, to put forward a draft law recognising the right of refusal to military service, and providing for the exemption of genuine war resisters from military service in Italy. Mr. Umberto Calosso has naturally gladly accepted this task and the whole issue will be raised in the near future of the Italian Senate.

We learn that another Italian friend is undertaking the collection of 50,000 signatures in Italy in favour of the proposal for a new law recognising conscientious objection, to be incorporated into the Italian Constitution. The general impression is that the Pinna case represents a decisive p forward towards a legal recognition of conscientious objectors in Italy.

We understand that there are groups of young men in Piedmont (particularly among the Jehovah's Witnesses) who are preparing to follow Pietro Pinna's example by refusing service in the army.

All this shows how valuable is the action of one single sincere man, and is an example once more of the well-known purpose of the WRI, which has many times been stated in the following words:

"The War Resisters' International is built upon the strength of the individual to stand alone, but it is the task of the International to see that no-one does stand alone.

We invite the co-operation and help of all readers of this report in the work the International has before it at this time, a time indeed of great opportunity and

#### Four British COs in prison

The following British COs are at present serving prison sentences:

Robert W. Barnby, Sheffield. 12 months. Harold A. Jones, Walthamstow. two

Robert G. Jones, Carshalton. 12 weeks. Marcus L. Saint, London, nine months.

#### Do you speak Persian?

The War Resisters' International need help in translating from English into Persian and Italian. Offers should be sent to Grace Beaton, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

# French COs face 25 years U.S. TAX-REFUSERS in prison

THE WRI Headquarters have issued the following reports on six ■ French COs. These young men are resisting conscription in a country which has no CO rights and where men who refuse to serve in the Armed Forces are faced with continuous imprisonment until the are beyond military service age-49 years of age-or their health breaks as a result of twenty or more years on July 28, 1949 to the Director of the

rigorous imprisonment. JEAN-BERNARD MOREAU

Our last report on this CO, whose rearrest has led to Garry Davis's protest, told of the very remarkable impression made on the judges of the Tribunal before whom he appeared on May 5.

First called up in November, 1948, he wrote to the Minister of National Defence saying that as a Christian he could not undertake military training.

Eventually he was brought before the Paris Military Tribunal and sentenced to one year's imprisonment, being sent to the Centre Penitentier of Pithiviers.

As in the trial of his fellow war resister in Italy, the judges were so impressed by the CO's sincerity that they declared themselves in favour of a law regarding conscientious objection to military service.

The WRI, supported by similar action in sections throughout the world, appealed to the President of the French Republic to release Moreau. On the occasion of an amnesty in connection with the French National Fete of July 14 he was released.

Immediately after his release, Moreau put into practice his statement to the Tri-bunal by joining an International Volun-tary Service for Peace ("Pick-and-shovel peacemakers") work scheme. His re-arrest followed, although under his previous sentence he was not due for release until January 1950.

#### ANDRE SCHOENAUER

A native of Mulhouse (Haut Rhin), he had previously been sentenced for refusal of military service in November, 1948, to one year's imprisonment, but with stay of execution of the sentence, which meant immediate discharge.

Following the usual French custom, he was immediately called up again for service, but as he still refused, he was kept in prison, and on May 18, 1949 was sentenced by the Metz Military Tribunal to two years' imprisonment for disobedience.

This sentence also revoked the reprieve of the former sentence of one year which gives him three years of prison to com-

His present address is: André Schoenauer,

matricule 2600, Batîment 12/3, Centre pénitentiaire d'Ecrouves, par Toul (Meurthe-et-Moselle), France.

Andre's parents, who are wholeheartedly apporting their son's action, have confined themselves to asking for the transfer of their son to Mulhouse prison, where they would be able to visit him more easily and more regularly. In a letter which he sent

#### MILITARY SERVICE IS "HONOURABLE DUTY"

HUNGARY'S new Constitution, intro-duced in Parliament by the Prime Minister, Matyas Rakosi, provides for military conscription and lays down that "defence of the country is the sacred duty of all citizens of the Hungarian People's

Speaking to the Bill on August 17, the Hungarian Premier said: "The working people of Hungary desire nothing more ardently than a lasting peace. But at the same time it is aware that an unarmed nation is a constant temptation for warmongers to attempt adventures and provocations. It is also aware that it is not enough to wish for peace, peace must be fought for, peace must be defended."

Article 49 of the new Constitution de-clares that "Discrimination of any kind against any citizen on grounds of sex, religion or nationality is a severely punish-

Article 54 safeguards "the liberty of conscience of all citizens and the freedom of religious worship." In order to ensure liberty of conscience "the Republic separates the Church from the State."

In Article 60 military service is declared to be "the honourable duty of citizens of the Republic in accordance with the law on universal military service.

#### WRI ACTION IN NORWAY

BY the law of 1937, persons liable for military service in Norway could be given alternative civilian work provided they could prove conscientious objection whether on religious or non-religious grounds. A case has just occurred where the local authority concerned refused to entertain an application because it was not on religious grounds. The Norwegian branch of the War Resisters' International took immediate action with the relevant Government Department to ensure that the local authority was properly instructed in

# 4-PEACE NEWS, September 30, 1949

André is 22 years of age. He was a

railwayman . . . He has always enjoyed a good reputation, being brought up and

taught by his parents, according to the Bible, which is officially recognised by the representatives of the different

Churches of Christianity as the word of God. The Bible is also the only valid

call to the colours. It was a serious moment, when he had to decide whether

he would serve under arms or remain faithful to his God who said, "Thou shalt not kill. As a true Christian, André believed that he must abstain

from what was contrary to the command-ments of Almighty God. In consequence he did not report to the regiment.

that I have brought up Andre as a brave man and an honest man. His absolute loyalty to God is the only fault which he is guilty of. That is the opinion of many honourable people and the majority

We are Christians. Since the sen

tence passed on our son, we have never had the idea of protesting against the

decision pronounced by the Court-Martial, knowing that those who follow Jesus Christ will be subjected to the same per-secutions. For He said: "If the world hatter way I have that the best of the same per-

hates you, know that it hated me before

His case has already been reported in PN and two appeals on his behalf have been made to the French President.

Court-Martial, June 11, 1949, César Bugany was sentenced to three months imprison-

ment, but the suspension of his earlier sen-

tence of two years was lifted, with the result that César Bugany is faced with a

term of 27 months in prison. He has re-

cently been moved to a different prison and

Was brought before the Court-Martial at

Metz on Aug. 5, 1949, because he did not

respond to his calling up notice, and because after arrest on May 20, he refused to put

Arrested by the police, he was taken to the barracks of the 151st Infantry Regi-

He had previously explained his attitude

that, as a Jehovah's Witness, it was im-

Edmon Schaguenée persisted in his atti-tude and re-affirmed his original declara-

tion before the examing magistrate, and again before the Metz Court-Martial.

The sentence of six months' imprison-ment passed on him will end during

Then, as in the case of all other French

war resisters, Edmond Schaguenee will be

compelled once more to face the consequences of his refusal. If, as he indicates,

he persists in his present stand he can be sentenced to two years imprisonment.

Speaking at the Court-Martial at Metz, Aug. 5, 1949, Edmond Schaguenee's bar-rister, and indeed the Government repre-

sentative, both expressed the desire that

a law giving legal status to conscientious objectors should be made.

An ex-navy man, has refused to undertake his required three weeks training. He has been working with a Quaker Team

A Jehovah's Witness, has refused mili-

tary service and after being imprisoned at

Tarascon has now been moved to Marseille.

Further details of these last two cases

All these imprisoned friends will be en-

couraged and cheered by greetings from supporters in other countries. It is best

to confine such greetings to short messages

It is important to note that this applies

written on an open post-card.

only to the French COs.

HENRI BOUTEILLER

JULIEN VINCENT

César Bugany, No. 165.

Atelier de monuiserie, (Calvados),

He is a Jehovah's Witness.

Maison Centrale de Caen,

At the second trial before the Metz

As the father of a family, I am sure

In November 1947 my son received the

law for a true Christian.

of those who know my son.

CESAR BUGANY

his address now is:-

France.

on military uniform.

ment in May last.

human laws.

November.

EDMOND SCHAGUENEE

HAIL IMPRISONED **COMRADE** 

ON Sept 15, the half-yearly income tax deadline, 70 people, acting jointly in a movement known as "Tax Refusal" and nounced that they hail the courage of Katsuki James Otsuka, one of their number who is now serving a Federal prison sen-Strasbourg prison district, Mr. Albert Schoenauer, father of André Schoenauer, tence for refusing to pay the government \$4.50 in income tax, and that they identify themselves with him and his course of

This small but growing movement of pacifists received widespread publicity widespread publicity earlier this year when their number was 41.

Their statement of identification with Mr. Otsuka declares:

"On this tax-payment day, we wish to point out to our fellow citizens that our country cannot lead the world to peace while it spends over one-third of its revenue directly on preparation for war. We are dismayed that so vast a proportion of our national resources in skill, energy and money should be used to develop more devastating atomic weapons and more deadly bacteria for slaughtering men, women and children, when such diseases as cancer and polio-myelitis, mental illness and alcoholism threaten us and future genera-

We believe we must act in accordance with what we know is right, rather than in accordance with the laws of the State when those laws clearly have evil results. We are therefore adopting a course of civil diso-bedience with respect to the income tax

#### "We salute his courage . . . "

One of our number, Katsuki James Otsuka, has been singled out for punishment as a tax refuser, and is now serving a 90-day sentence in a Federal prison. We honour his course of action, and salute his courage in remaining steadfast throughout his trial. As people who are also refusing to pay at least the proportion of our income taxes which equals the government's expenditures for armaments, we want to be identified with James Otsuka. We urge every citizen of good will to dissociate himself from the death plans of our country by joining himself. by joining him and us in a refusal to finance war preparations."

Otsuka, a student at Earlham College, Richmond, Ind., was given 90 days im-prisonment and a \$100 fine on Sept 1.

When Otsuka asked the purpose to which the fine money would be put, the Judge said, "I don't know." "Then I will have to refuse to pay it," replied Otsuka. "All right," returned the Judge, "It will give you a longer sentence."

### RELEASE U.S. COS **Prominent Americans** appeal to Truman

SEVENTY-FIVE prominent Americans have sent a joint letter to President Truman urging him to grant immediate freedom to the 42 COs in U.S. gaols.

in a written declaration, which was in fact, a confession of his faith. In this he stated Pointing out that there is "no national possible for him to perform military duties, that he was a Christian submitting to danger to justify the abridgement of the religious liberty of this minority," signers of the letter find it "deeply disturbing" divine laws, and that he could neither disthat America continues to imprison con-scientious objectors four years after the obey his Christian conscience nor trans-gress God's commandments. He accepted all the consequences of his refusal to obey

> Drawn from widely varied fields in American life, those signing the letter include John Dewey, Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Freda Kirchway, editor of The Nation, and writers Van Wyck Brooks, Lillian Smith, Thornton Wilder and John Dos Passos. Among churchmen joining this appeal for freedom of religious expression are E. Stanley Jones, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, and Bishops Angus Dun and J. Ralph Magee.

> Noting that half of the two score objectors behind prison bars are Quakers, the letter cites the "Quaker record of service to humanity," and contrasts this with the fact that "members of this group practising its teachings are branded as felons and numbered as convicts in prisons from coast to coast.'

> The letter received widespread publicity throughout the USA, including top-of-page headlines in the New York Times which printed the letter in full.

#### 577 MINISTERS IN MPF

MEMBERSHIP of the Methodist Peace Fellowship stands at 577 ministers and 3.101 lay members, it was reported at the MPF Annual Conference. Officers appointed for 1949-50 were Rev. Percy Ineson, Chairman; Rev. Donald Soper, Rev. Fred Farley and Rev. G. E. Hickman Johnson Vice-Presidents. Secretaries are Rev. Douglas Wollen and Mr. Fred Mitchell-Headquarters: 38 Gordon Square, London.

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In Moscow, as in London, rebuilding is altering the face of a capital city. In this article, E. V. Tempest, who recently attended the Moscow Peace Conference, tells of what he saw in his arst visit for ten years. Readers will recall his earlier Peace News articles on reconstruction in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Poland.

THE first overwhelming impression on arrival in Moscow is of new construction on a gigantic scale. Moscow is being rebuilt. It is the equivalent of a major military operation in war.

Restoration of war damage was more or ess completed in 1947. Now it is impossible to stand in any street of Moscow, with its population of 6 million people, without Many areas are unrecognisable by those who last visited Moscow in 1938. The 1934 Intourist Plan of Moscow is now useless.

Inree wide belts of new roads encircle the Old narrow streets are being widened. Owing to the shortage of living accommodation, the wood houses of the 18th and 19th century are in many areas left untouched in front of big modern blocks of flats built back on the new building line. The old houses will be demolished, and the touch of the bound of oads widened, when the housing shortage becomes less acute.

The speed of construction is notable. By use of prefabricated sections, assembled on the spot, scores of residential blocks, each containing 45 two- or three-room flats, are being built in 90-100 days. Doors, windows already glazed, plumbing units, are prefabricated. Floors are pre-cast and dropped in place by huge cranes. A mobile brinciple as a paint-sprayer. I saw a team one man and four women brick-laying without strain 6,000 bricks during an eight-our shift. Our party was taken by lift to the 20th storey of one building begun a March this year, of which the 27 storeys are to be completed by 1951. It was a seel frame building of which 4 storeys had seen your three weeks' stay en put up during our three weeks' stay Moscow.

#### Eight sky-scrapers

The Five Year Plan includes 8 skytrapers of up to 32 storeys. One of them the new State University, begun in April and to be completed in 1951. The main midding is for the Science departments, reography, mathematics, engineering and reology, with their libraries, reading rooms, and museums. The plan includes an Astembly Hall for 1,500, and two other halls for 600. Wings of eighteen storeys will for 600. Wings of eighteen storeys will accommodate 6,000 residential students, with a separate room for each undertaduate and a bathroom to two rooms. The park, in which the University is being that in the Lenin Hills on the outskirts of the o oscow, will include a botanical garden.



(Photos: Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR) The approach to Moscow along Mozhaisk Highway, one of the biggest new highways in the city.

for two-room flats, 540 sq. ft. for three-room flats, and larger flats in proportion. This "living-space" does not include en-

We questioned tenants and found that workers, earning between 600-1,800 roubles a month, paid for rent, gas, and electricity, from 45-120 roubles per month according to wage. In other words, the head of a family who earns—say £7 10s 0d. a week, pays no more than 8s. 6d. a week for the rent, light and heat of his flat, irrespective of the earnings of other members of the

#### The housing target

The Five Year Plan provides for 900 million sq. ft. of living-space, and during the first three years has been exceeded by approx. 20 per cent. In addition, 128 million sq. ft. of living-space have been built by private citizens on long-term State loans, and 1,600,000 dwelling-houses have been restored or rebuilt. This means that more housing space is being built during the present Plan than during the twenty prewar years.

I made several journeys outside Moscow, and the following is typical of scenes on the main roads. You see hundreds of lorries, long lines of them, bringing building materials into Moscow—it reminds one of military manoeuvres. On the second day of my stay, I went to Gorki, a village 40 miles from Moscow.

The road was first class with the exception of a bad stretch of about five miles, which caused congestion. Three weeks thousand people (many of them soldiers working as Army units) were within three the thousands of new flats now being weeks of completing this section, working weeks of completing this section, working night and day.

These main roads out of Moscow are altrance, passages, bathroom, lavatory and kitchen. The flats are let according to the size of family, and in no case can the rent exceed 6 per cent. of the wage earner's salary. ready planted on each side with double rows

#### At the Building Exhibition

The scale of industrial construction is even more impressive. The "Exhibition of Industrial Building" in Moscow (opened in 1932 and enlarged since the war) is primarily to give technical details and advice to engineers and building workers, and is visited by delegates from all over Russia. In each department specially trained staff is available to explain the working models, and a building expert in our party considered that many of the processes would have been secret in England.

The Exhibition is also arranged to interest the general public. The stages in the rebuilding of Moscow are illustrated by electrically lit maps, with press buttons to illustrate are in the stages. illuminate special features. Similar maps illustrate the progress of industrial construction, deposits of raw materials, communications, etc. There are models of housing estates and of private houses, giving all practical details for the private citizen building his own house.

Cities are built for man, and it is the people who really count. No visitor to Moscow can help being impressed with the cheerfulness, and the sense of purpose and confidence he sees on all sides. Pride in their city and determination to improve its amenities, is shown by the amount of voluntary labour which the inhabitants are giving in laying out gardens, making playgrounds for the children, etc. This voluntary co-operation of the people in the work of rebuilding Moscow is one of the most significant and hopeful developments from the long-term point of view.

September 30, 1949, PEACE NEWS-5

# len Years Ago

From Peace News, September 29, 1939

Russia's march into Poland has so completely changed the international situation as to demand the immediate cessation of hostilities.

Here are the facts:

Russia is in possession of half of Poland. It is therfore obvious that a war to restore the former Polish regime will involve war with Russia. Are the people of Britain and France prepared for that?

After a lengthy war there would be such a state of financial exhaustion, general con-fusion and economic collapse, that resort to dictatorship would be inevitable in every country which took part in it. In other words, the outcome of the conflict would be an extension of the very evil it was being waged to overthrow.

-Wilfred Wellock

The appointment of Mr. R. H. Cross to be Minister of Economic Warfare was an-nounced in the Daily Herald with the comment that "the work will not be altogether new to him," as "for more than a year he has been Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade."

So the peace-time activity of the Board of Trade is apparently that of the Ministry of Economic Warfare!

That is the very attitude that must be overcome in our endeavours to lay the foundations of a real peace as soon as hostilities can be stopped.

War aims at the defeat of the enemy. Pacifism aims at the winning of our opponents.

-Cecil H. Wilson, MP

#### Publications Received

Progressive World, June, 1949, Demy 8vo. 56pp. and cover (New York: United Secularists of America, 144 East 24th St, yearly \$3)

THIS journal disfigures its pages by vulgar and insulting abuse of Christianity, particularly that of the Roman Catholic denomination, but there are, in this issue, two items of interest to pacifists.

One is the script of a broadcast from the Cicero (Illinois) radio station, under the auspices of the Czechoslovak Rationalists. Number five in a "Cavalcade of the Great" was devoted to Gandhi and satyagraha. Of him it quotes the words of Albert Ein-stein, "Generations to come, it may be, will scarcely believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon the earth." Also those of George Bernard Shaw, "This man and myself belong to a very small minority in the world; for he is a man who comes once in 10,000 years."

The other article is "The Curse of War" by Jack Benjamin. In it he attacks the idea that war can be justified as a necessary phrase in the struggle for existence, or that it leads to the survival of the fittest and best, either among individuals or nations. Quoted from "The Times" of September 1914, is a statement by Major Leonard Darwin dissociating this "Social Darwinism" from the theories expounded by his father. his father.

### Notes for your Diary

LUTON: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House; ballon notices sent on select for publication notices sent Send notices to arrive not than Monday.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, (hall. street); nature of (hall, street); nature of speakers, organisers (and order and style. 's address)—preferably in

#### Today (Friday)

NDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Ends-Gardens; Introduction to study course "Authority and the Individual." London Group of the PPU.

### Saturday, October 1

Street; Area Conference; speaker: Street; Area Conference; speaker;
Lower Church Street; Lakeland
Lower Church Street; Lakeland
Lower Church; Secretary; John
Cockernorth; Secretary; John
Cockernorth; Secretary; John
Conference and welcome; PPU.
Later Church, Bedlington Station;
Conference and public meeting;
Lower Church, Bedlington Station;
Conference and public meeting;
Rev. Percy Carden and John
Longer Conference and public meeting;
Lower Church, Bedlington Station;
Longer Church, Bedlington Station Station;
Longer Church, Bedlington Station Station;
Longer Church,

#### Sunday, October 2

Sunday, October PARK: 6 p.m. Openair meeting: NSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air ing: Stoke Newington Peace Group.

Grand Connecting: Islington PPU.

#### Monday, October 3

Monday, Uctover o

# Wednesday, October of the Canning Cross. S.E.5; Dulwich Wednesday, October 5

#### Thursday, October 6

LONDON, W.C.2: 7 p.m. Re-dedication service; St. Martin-in-the-Fields; Service conducted by the R:v. Wilfred Kerr. Address by the Rev. Prof. C. E. Raven; London Union of the FoR.

LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Ing Fields; Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison

WELLINGBOROUGH: 7.45 p.m. 116 Wollaston Rd., Irchester; Dr. S. Jesus-dason of India; FoR. WEYMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. Parish Room, St. Paul's Church, Abbotsbury Rd. Vera Briktain, Stuart Morris; PPU, BRISTOL: 7 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Broadweir; Rev. Claud Coltman; FoR.

#### Friday, October 7

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House. Upper Lattimore Road; Members Rededication Service; conductors: H. Carey Oakley, Mary Lee and Rev. W. Booth Taylor; address: Rev. W. Morton Barwell;

For.

STOKE-ON-TRENT: 3 p.m. Area Conference; speaker: Rev. Percy Ineson; Chairman: The Ven Percy Hartill; Details from For. 38 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1. For.

LONDON, W.C.1; 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens, "Authority and the Individual"; Patrick Figgis; Central London PPU.

don PPU.

PLYMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. Central Hall,
Saltash Strret; Vera Brittain, Stuart
Morris; Chair: Kate Spurrell; PPU.
LEICESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting
House: Dr. S. Jesudason of India; FoR.
SWINDON: Rev. Claud Coltman; full
details from Miss Beatrice Davey, 149

Marlborough Road, Swindon, Wilta; FoR.

#### Saturday, October 8

LONG EATON: 7.15 p.m. 60 Curzon Street; Dr. S. Jesudason of India; FoR. MANCHESTER: 3 and 6 p.m. Friends Meeting House, 6 Mount St.; "The Outlook for Pacifism"; Bernard Boothroyd; Manchester Friends Peace Committee.
BOURNEMOUTH: 3.15 p.m. Friends Meeting House; Area Conference; Rev. Claud Coltman; FoR.

### Sunday, October 9 DURDHAM DOWNS: 3.30 p.m. Open-ir meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU. HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meet-

ng; PPU.
FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air
neeting; Stoke Newington Peace Group.
HIGHBURY CORNER: 11 a.m. Openair meeting; Islington PPU.

#### Tuesday, October 11

SHEFFIELD: Nether Chapel, Norfolk Street: "The Place of the CO in Society"; Michael Tippetf; PPU. COLWYN BAY: 7.30 p.m. Welsh Salem Congregational Church, Abergele Road; Vera Brittain; Joint FoR and PPU.

Thursday, October 13 LIVERPOOL: 7.30 p.m. New Friends Meeting House, Hunter St.; Vera Brittain, Rhys Davies, MP; Chair: Mrs. Grieve, JP; LONDON, W.C.2: 1 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison;

# Friday, October 14 LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endseigh Gardens; "Authority and the Inlividual"; F. A. Ridley; Central London

KENDAL: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House; Stramongate; Vera Brittain; Stuart Morris; Chair: Rev. H. O. Evans; PPU.

Saturday, October 15
CROYDON: 3.30-8 p.m. Adult School Hell, Park Lane; Stuart Morris, Bernard Boothroyd (Ed. Peace News); tea, music stalls, running buffet; PPU.
GLASGOW: 2.30 p.m. St. Andrew's, Berkeley Hall; Peace Conference; Vera Brittain, Emrys Hughes, MP, Sybil Morrison; 7.30 p.m. Study Circle at Cranston's Restaurant, Renfield St.; PPU.

# Monday, October 17 LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Chuch Ins Albion Place; John Rankin, MP, Brittain, Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Thursday, October 20
WELLINGBOROUGH: 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Silver St.; Vera Brittain; PPU. Friday, October 21
PECKHAM: 7.45 p.m. Co-operative
Hall, Rye Lane; Vera Brittain; PPU.

### CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

#### PLEASE READ CARREULLY LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before

TERMS: Cash with order. 8d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamp, in payment, except for odd pence. Marimum length:

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fication, and date. We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

#### MEETINGS

BOURNEMOUTH. ST. PETERS Small Hall, Wednesday, Oct. 5, 7 p.m. Vera Brittain. Rhya Davles, MP. Chairman the Rev. F. Pope.

CROYDON. ADULT School Hall, Park Lane. October 8, 7,30 p.m. IVSP Social, Jean Inconft speaks on International work

of the Service.

"AUTHORITY AND Individual" subject for series of talks given at 8 Enduleigh Gardens, W.C.1. 7.30 p.m. Oct. 7, Patrick Figgis; Oct. 14, F. A. Ridley; Oct. 21, to be announced; Oct. 28, Hugh Brock; Nov. 4, Michael Tippett; Nov. 11, Trevor Davies. Central London Group. WEIGH HOUSE Church. Duke Street, W.I. (Bond St. Tube), Sunday evening at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

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#### LITERATURE, &c.

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#### The atom race

(Continued from page one)

majority on whose benevolent attitude towards the Soviet Union the Soviet cannot count. Therefore people the Soviet Union and probably not only the Soviet Union, cannot allow that the fate of its National economy be handed over to this organ."

June 11, 1947

Soviet proposals introduced Gromyko.

Separate Conventions for prohibition of atomic weapons and establishment of International Control Commission, Strict international control simultaneously over all facilities in mining of atomic raw materials and in production of atomic materials and atomic energy. Periodical inspection of these facilities. Checking of atomic raw materials, atomic material and unfinished products. Special inspection in case of suspicion of violation. Power to make recommedations to Security Council on measures in regard to violators of the conventions.

AEC agrees to consider these proposals in parallel with the scheme already under consideration.

#### August 11, 1947

AEC discussed the Soviet proposals. Canadian delegate moved that these proposals "as they now stand and the ex-planations given thereon do not provide an adequate basis for the development by the Committee of specific proposals for an effective system of international control of atomic energy." This adopted, with the Soviet and Polish delegates voting against.

#### September 11, 1947

Working papers embodied in Second Report to Security Council. Report attacked in AEC by Gromyko on the ground that proposals "serve the interest of one country which is trying to secure for itself a monopoly position in the pro-duction of atomic energy and to fetter other countries by making it difficult for them to develop atomic energy.

Soviet proposals further discussed but no new material emerged except that by "inspection" Gromyko did not mean continuous inspection "which would interfere with internal economy and sovereign rights of States."

#### April 5, 1948

Soviet proposals rejected by Working Committee of AEC.

Mr. Vyshinsky at the Third General Assembly of UN restated Soviet opposi-tion to the AEC's Second Report: "The Soviet Union maintains that a properly organised international control body should exercise control over the production of Atomic Energy in all its stages—from the output of raw materials to the ready product. It is unable to agree with the stand in regard to this issue adopted by the USA, Great Britain, France and certain other States. . . . All peace loving nations should raise their voices for immediate prohibition of the atomic bomb."

#### October 2, 1948

A new Soviet proposal constituted an abandonment of the former Soviet insistence on destruction of all atomic bombs before the establishment of international control and inspection:

The Security Council and AEC should resume their work in the field of atomic

Two draft conventions should be drawn one on the prohibition of atomic weapons and the other on the establishment of an effective system of interbeing signed and coming into force simultaneously.

#### November 4, 1948

UN General Assembly expressed "deep concern" at impasse reached in the AEC; called on the "Big Five" and Canada to hold consultations "to determine if there exists a basis for agreement on the international control of atomic weapons and for their elimination from national armaments" and called on the AEC to "resume its Sessions, to survey its programme of work and to proceed to further study of such of the subjects remaining in the programme of work as it considers to be practical and useful."

#### November 22, 1948

all mu It re is

UN Assembly.

Final statement of Soviet position.

1. Policy decisions and sanctions to be dealt with in Security Council on recommendation from AEC. AEC but veto retained for Council.
2. Simultaneous conventions for prohibi-

tion and for control. 3. Approval of inspection and control but not management and ownership. " American plan is an encroachment on the sovereignty of other States."

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

#### THE STEPS TO PEACE CONFERENCE

## HOW IT ALL BEGAN

#### By Roger Page

WHEN PPU members meet on Area was discussing an idea called, rather clumsily. "functional called, rather Guy Fawkes Day at the Steps to Peace Conference they may, like Guy Fawkes himself, start something which will go down in history. Guy, of course, wanted to go up in history, and to that extent his steps to peace failed. Let us hope that the PPU is more successful.

Let nobody underrate this comparatively small gathering on November 5; it is distinctly possible that very great things will come of it. Not so very long ago a few young men came together, unspectacularly, in Oxford. That "Holy Club" looked unin Oxford. That "Holy Club" looked un-important and people scoffed, but the Methodism which came from it put a permanent mark on this country and the

If I write about how it may all end, that is because it is extremely difficult to write what I am asked: how it all began. It is like writing about the beginning of a war. You can, if you like, take the superficial that it began with a rape of Poland or Belgium; but there were deeper causes. It is easy to spot the mouth of a river; less easy to find the source. To this river two main streams contribute.

#### For the non-propagandist

The PPU has what is known as a Development Committee. Its task is to maintain and strengthen the development of the Union as an organisation. One of the main problems this Committee has had to face—and the problem has become terribly acute in the last few years—is how to keep the loyalty and interest of PPU members not of a campaigning turn of mind, or more specially interested in the long-term aspects of pacifism. Another problem has been how to get the movement to face up to the challenge of pacifism, to see whether pacifism carries with it certain responsi-bilities to the community other than the non-participation in war.

In an attempt to solve these and other problems the Committee prepared a study-and-action programme called "Steps to Peace," which was meant to try and discover the link between pacifism and our ordinary life; to see whether there is a pacifist pattern of behaviour. The National Council of the PPU was not, however, sufficiently enthusiastic about this plan, and it was not proceeded with. That was one stream; and it seemed to be dammed.

clumsily, "functional grouping," and brought its interest to the AGM last April. Functional grouping" means a recognition of the fact that the many and various members of the PPU have many and various interests. That whereas only a few of them will bother to go to a local group simply because it is local, there are many who might take a deep interest in the fact that there are a large number of pacifists who may be miles away geographically but who are nevertheless very closely linked in

A pacifist in Hogsnorton may never put out a foot to attend the local group meeting on Wednesdays, talking over and doing all kinds of things (I think he should) but he may be concerned with, say, education, the may be concerned by the say in th and be desperately interested in what is, if anything, the pacifist's responsibility in this field. And he may be thrilled to learn that there are other pacifists of a like mind who will join him in a non-geographical "func-tional group" in order to study and experiment in this important aspect of pacifism.

#### For the group member

Also there are the loyal and regular group members who might want to link up with a functional group, for the two systems of grouping are complementary, mutually strengthening and sustaining.

This idea was aired at the AGM, which, in a rather muddled way, seemed to bless it. The same AGM also wanted the un-damming of that other stream. So the two things came together; the functional groups could be built around the subjects which had orginally appeared in Steps to Peace, plus some others, and in each of these subjects pacifists would have a chance to see whether there is any special pacifist responsibility or opportunity and if so what to do about it.

That is the factual background, but there is more to it than that. I have a strong sense of the continuity of history and am tempted to say that if you want the real beginnings you must go back to the Garden of Eden. Certainly it began as soon as any pacifist began to think about his pacifism in the context of a modern community.

It all comes to a head now because, while it is comparatively easy for a pacifist to see his duty in war-time, it is less easy to see what to do at other times. If Steps to Peace, at the Conference and subsequently, can help us in this it will do a service to humanity, not merely to the pacifist movement.

Conference tickets, 2s. 6d., may be obream; and it seemed to be dammed.

At about the same time the PPU London

tained from the Conference Secretary, Dick
Sheppard House, Endsleigh Strret, W.C.1.

#### BOMB RUSSIA'S ATOM

From page two

delay such a conversion, but could not pre-

This confusion of industrial and military interests means that any scheme of international inspection that might be devised would have to be so far-reaching as to include the whole of the economic development of all participating powers.

Even so, should war break out, and hould all nations have adhered quite faithfully to any agreement to destroy all their atomic weapons, the country in the most favourable position for their quick produc-tion would be that country which had most ndustrial atomic power installa

#### Why Russia suspects supervision

The Baruch Plan therefore proposed (following the Lilienthal Report) that an international body, the Atomic Development Authority (ADA) should have:

- 1. Complete control of the world supplies of uranium and thorium and of all mining and refining operations con-nected therewith;
- 2. Complete control of all the construction and operation of all atomic reactors and operation plants, especially of those which would run at high tem-peratures suitable for the generation of electrical power.

This means, in effect, that an international body, on which the USSR would certainly have a minority representation, would have control of all mining operations within her territories and of all industrial atomic power plants that she might wish to build. The ADA would have had the right, and with the abolition of the veto in field (an integral part of the Baruch Plan) would have had also the power, to limit the number of such plants allotted to any country.

That number would almost certainly have been decided on the strategic ground of security rather than on the basis of human need.

Is it conceivable that the USSR would have been allowed, say, 50 such plants for her economic development, however much the thought she needed them; unless the USA were prepared to construct 50 similar plants (which she doesn't particulary need) which could be kept, as it were, in reserve?

As long as the air is so thick with suspicion, how could such a solution be acceptable? The utmost that America could hope for was that Russia would be so scared by the possibilities of future atomic wars as to be willing to compromise.

Well, she has compromised a little, but not enough. She has accepted the principle of international control and even now demands it. But as long as she adheres to her rigid system of "keeping herself to her-self," otherwise known as the iron curtain, it is just as unreasonable to expect the West to trust her as it is for her to trust the "capitalists" whom she fears and dislikes.

It may be better not to attempt to break down this suspicion directly, a process which so far has led only to worse misunderstanding and to a campaign of vilification which has done nothing but widen the breach. Viewed from that angle, Russia's success in making the bomb is a disaster for the Western Powers, because it increases suspicion and lessens the likelihood of conciliation.

#### Let suspicions die!

But from another point of view it may not be a disaster. Russia's face is saved; her feeling of inferiority is removed. She is in a more equal bargaining position. But we are all none the less in the same boat, and will drown together if we don't pull together.

If we cannot overcome our suspicions we need not nourish them; let them die of neglect.

And meanwhile let us do all we can to encourage trade relations which will strengthen our common interests and which will encourage the constructive personal contacts which are now so conspicuously lacking.

I believe that those who have the welfare of the world at heart need not by any means despair at the turn of events, but do need to work very hard indeed to avoid all possible sources of friction and to build up, in a positive way, all influences that may improve East-West relationships.

The report of the American Friends Service Committee, outlined in Peace News of July 22, 1949, merits particular study in this connection, and ought to be more widely circulated than it has been as yet. Sybil Morrison's

## CAMPAIGN COLUMN

But war's a game, which were their subjects wise

Kings would not play at. Nations would do well To extort their truncheons from the

puny hands Of heroes, those infirm and baby minds Are gratified with mischief; and who

Because men suffer it-their toy, the world.

William Cowper

(NE afternoon last week, at a semi private meeting, I heard Professol Bernal speak of the "pride of labour shown by the Russians; he emphasised wit what infinite pains and eager energy the were reconstructing their bombed and blasted towns, their shattered countrysio and how in order to restore their land which had borne the brunt of occupation sewell as bombing, of "scorched earth" so well as enomy action well as enemy action, peace was an absor lute essential.

"No Russian wants war, talks of war, of intends to make war," was the burden of his immensely interesting and impressor speech.

As I listened it seemed to me that though in this country we have not known enem occupation, and possibly do not possessactly that "pride of labour," yet same cry would come from the peoples this country, and not only from this country but from all the peoples of the world.

#### The atom race is on

No one wants war—but that does mean there will be no war. The atom weapons race, is now in full swing.

The Kremlin will say, quite logically, the their search for the secret of the atom bond was made inevitable by the threat implies in its possession by another great power who refused to yield the secret.

In the same way, our Foreign Office will say that though we knew the secret, it was safe in our hands for it would never used except against an aggressor. At still the peoples of the world will futilely continue their cry: "We don't want war display

So long as men and women will suffer their so-called leaders to behave as even children would scarcely behave, then the inevitable consequence will be a world destroyed by atomic and bacteriological warfare.

Everywhere people are saying: "Whe can we do?" It seems plain now that can we do?" It seems plain now that there is to be any change of policy, let alor a change of heart, it will come only when governments know that they can no longer rely upon ordinary. rely upon ordinary men and women carry out their present policies, which are based upon the bankrupt idea that military pacts and immense armaments can preserv peace.

However difficult and hopeless the task may seem, we cannot, as conscientious jectors to war, shirk it or evade it. Even thing that we can do to persuade people that it is within their power to stop a small handful of people, caught in the tangle power politics, from arranging the world dom. must be done, without fear of the consequences. consequences.

#### Strengthen public opinion

Public opinion is no myth; it can be strong that governments dare not neglect but on the contrary continually spend and money wooing it. We have not money, and not nearly so much time, and that reason no opportunity for attacking the false propaganda that is leading us to wards war should ever be neglected.

It has been said that this is the cept tury of the common man; we are near half way through the century and it is that the "common man" made his will peace a reality. Wars will cease when refuse to fight. That is the pacifist resage; that is the only hope for a stricked world, and it is our high task to carry the message and to show the way message and to show the way.

#### CANCELLED

The London Area Cricket match are nounced last week has been cancelled.

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